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URBAN DECISION-MAKING, THE UNIVERSITY'S ROLE.

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THE AUTHOR EXAMINES THE VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH THE UNIVERSITY CAN AND SHOULD INFLUENCE URBAN DECISION MAKING. THE CENTRAL UNIVERSITY ROLE IS SENSITIZING THE DECISION MAKERS AND THE CITIZENS TO HUMAN MISERY, SUCH AS BIGOTRY, SQUALOR, DISEASE, UGLINESS, POVERTY, AND IGNORANCE. LONG-RANGE ROLES ARE PINPOINTING THE PROBLEMS URBAN DECISION MAKERS SHOULD DEAL WITH, DISCOVERING THE ROOT LAWS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR, AND FINDING ANSWERS TO PROBLEMS ACCORDING TO THESE LAWS. SHORT-RANGE ROLES INCLUDE PROVIDING TECHNICAL ADVICE AND EDUCATING URBAN DECISION MAKERS. THE COMPLETE DOCUMENT, "POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF ADULT EDUCATION, THE UNIVERSITY IN URBAN SOCIETY," IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION OF ADULTS AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY, 138 MOUNTFORT ST., BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS 02146, FOR $1.25. (JA)

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POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF ADULT EDUCATION

The University in Urban Society

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URBAN DECISION-MAKING: THE UNIVERSITY'S ROLE

by

Stephen K. Bailey

Bailey examines the various ways in which the university can and should influence urban decision-making. He sees the following as long-range roles for the university: pinpointing the problems urban decision-makers should deal with; discovering the root laws of human behavior: and finding answers to problems according to these laws. Among the short-range roles are: providing technical advice and educating urban decision-makers. But underlying all these roles is the central role of the university in regard to urban decision-making—sensitizing the decision-makers and the citizens to human misery.

Stephen K. Bailey is Professor of Political Science and Dean of the Maxwell Graduate School at Syracuse University. He has also taught at Wesleyan University, Princeton, Harvard, Oxford, and several other universities. His non-academic work has included such roles as Mayor of Middletown in Connecticut and Chairman of the Connecticut Democratic State Platform Committee.

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URBAN DECISION-MAKING: THE UNIVERSITY'S ROLE

In the year 1904 a French artist, Paul Flandrin, was moved by a passage from the Gospel according to St. Luke to paint a picture entitled "Christ Mourns over the City." Ostensibly the painting illustrates the passage which reads, "And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, if thou hadst [only] known . . . the things which belong unto thy peace!"[1]

The artist has painted Christ in his traditional form, but instead of Jesus standing on Olivet overlooking Jerusalem, He looks down from Montmartre upon Paris. In the foreground are closely packed tenements. The air is filled with the smog of a great industrial metropolis. Three large churches rise gently above the thick air, but their towers are not illumined by the sun. The human misery and the injustices of the city are simply implied by the aesthetic squalor.

Flandrin's painting and the biblical text underlining it come close to defining the modern university's role in urban decision-making. For one role is to weep; the other is to ponder the things which belong to the city's peace.

Weeping, like fainting, is less fashionable now than it once was. Perhaps modern man has become so inured to injustice and terror that he has lost the capacity for compassion. Perhaps, as the poet reminds us, "The damned don't cry." Or, perhaps, the more prosperous American middle class has simply become so isolated in its suburban castles and so protected from social reality by the steel and chrome of its automobiles, that it no longer recognizes what it sees or feels what it recognizes. Or perhaps television has made all human drama unreal. Close-ups of urban race riots become macabre entertainment—shocking, but quite as distant, ephemeral, and unreal as a class "B" movie or "The Man from U.N.C.L.E."

In any case, if in truth we no longer know how to weep, the university has an obligation to help society regain this lost capacity. For unless the urban decision-makers of the future, and their supporting citizenry, have hearts that are troubled, urban decisions will continue to be made quite as callously and selfishly as they have been made in the past.

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1. Luke 19:41, 42.

And if urban decisions continue to be so made, we can expect metropolitan living to become increasingly ugly, degrading, and threatening.

A few years ago, Professor Elmer Schattschneider of Wesleyan University asked his students to write papers on their home towns. One wealthy product of Bronxville, New York, one of the garden spots of Westchester County, ended his effusive essay with the proud statement, "The greatest thing about Bronxville is that it has no slums." Across this final page, Professor Schattschneider wrote in his gargantuan handwriting, "The slums of Bronxville are the Bronx!"—a professor attempting to educate a student to weep.

All this is another way of saying that one of the university's main responsibilities is social criticism. It shares this responsibility with other institutions in the society—especially the home, the church, the political party, and the press; but since increasingly the university educates those who man these other societal posts, it has a primary obligation to keep social criticism alive and responsible.

There are those, of course, who claim that feeling is the enemy of science, that higher education has no responsibility for sensitizing the emotional and value premises of students, that social criticism is indoctrination, and that indoctrination is antipathetic to rationality.

I am not prone to argue with these theorists or to paraphrase Louis Armstrong and say, "Bless your little pointed heads." For as we shall note, the rigorous social scientists have potentially an enormous contribution to make in helping the university to perform its second role—the role of helping the city to know the things which belong to its peace, the role of predicting the probable consequences of urban decisions. I would only claim that the humanistic traditions of the Western world are the necessary and reasonable province of such university disciplines as history, philosophy, political theory, religion, art, and literature; and that part of the wisdom of the ages involves the social and psychic fall-out of moral callousness. It is not enough to know what produces hell; it is important to accompany Dante and to be confronted with the searing consequences of hell. In the province of human affairs, discomfort is a powerful motivator of science. To cultivate the capacity of the young to be uncomfortable in the presence of bigotry and squalor and disease and ugliness and poverty and ignorance may be the university's major long-run contribution to urban decision-making. For decisions are reflections of

value. If we cannot weep at constrictions upon human fulfillment, why harness science to alleviate them?

What are some of these constrictions? What are the major limitations on human freedom which exist in urban America, and upon which urban decisions must increasingly focus?

First, I doubt that a sick person is a free person. The Italian philosopher Croce caught the essence here when he wrote, "When we go to the rescue of a person who is ill, and quiet or lessen his pain, we are striving in effect to restore a source of activity, in other words, a source of freedom to society."

Are urban decisions presently being taken which are adequate to rescue the ill, to quiet or lessen their pain, to restore a source of activity to the society as a whole?

In spite of the fact that projected budgets and trust funds for federally sponsored health activities for this coming fiscal year will exceed ten billion dollars, and that this amount will be thrice matched by state, local, and private outlays, tens of millions of American citizens will still be effectively denied adequate health services. During the Watts riots in Los Angeles, it was reputed that the nearest available hospital was forty minutes away. The nation faces a critical shortage of doctors, dentists, medical technicians, nurses and nursing homes, out-patient clinics, and hospital beds. Our attacks upon the environmental health problems of air and water pollution and of traffic and industrial accidents in our great metropolitan areas have been shockingly inadequate. The petty jurisdictional jealousies which have precluded the effective rationalization of metropolitan health services—jealousies between public and private hospitals; among veterans hospitals, military hospitals, and public and private civilian hospitals; among various health departments of suburban enclaves and between these and the health departments of central cities—represent a shocking and tragic waste. And what about the field of preventive medicine, and the relating of health services to other areas of social pathology? The vital statistics of any city will tell you that slum kids are more prone to disease than suburban kids; that mortality rates are higher; that epidemics spread faster in slums than in non-slums; that venereal disease, drug addiction, and alcoholism—the pathetic evidences of the attempts of the hopeless to escape their worldly environment short of death—are endemic in slum environments.

Are urban decisions presently being made with a view toward the humane and rational distribution of health services? To ask the question is to answer it.

If sickness inhibits freedom by constricting the opportunities for self-fulfillment, so does ignorance. Education is on its way toward becoming by 1970 a sixty-billion-dollar national enterprise. But educational opportunity, especially in our urban configurations, is marked by grim disparities. The federal government alone in 1967 will spend over eight billion dollars in education and training activities, and over a quarter of this amount will be directed toward upgrading educational services for the culturally deprived. These funds will influence educational resource allocation in urban areas, but they will run far short of redressing inequities which annually condemn millions of central city youngsters to stunted intellectual growth, unemployment, and antisocial behavior. Urban decisions which permit obsolete and rat-infested school buildings, inexperienced teachers, and uninspired curricula and facilities to dominate educational practice are perverse "tyrannies over the minds of men," to which Thomas Jefferson once swore eternal hostility. As diminishers of human freedom, these conditions, I submit, warrant tears—the tears of anger.

Apart from the considerations of sickness and ignorance, can the poor, the unemployed, the dependent aged, and the ill-housed be truly free? Do not all of these conditions suggest in themselves a narrowing of options, a sullen cancer on the human spirit, a form of external enslavement?

Are urban decisions presently being made to facilitate a wholesale and coordinated attack upon these enemies of self-fulfillment? Have federal, state, local, and private agencies learned to work with each other in this complex area of social planning? Again, to ask the question is to answer it.

Finally, but of course not finally, is the whole realm of injustice through discrimination. For a sizable group of Americans, the overriding problem of freedom is simple acceptance in the community. How can one be free if one's life is encumbered with the gnawing injustice of being accepted not as an individual, but as a member of a minority group against whom the majority discriminates in a hundred ways? This indignity I have never known for I am white, Protestant, and Anglo-Saxon. I have never experienced directly or indirectly the terrifying psychic in-

security of not knowing how I am going to be treated in a restaurant or a hotel or a real estate office or a college fraternity—or even a church. Neither discriminators nor those discriminated against can ever be free people; the former because they must live in fear of retribution; the latter because they must exist in a series of squalid ghettos—physical and spiritual. A tenth of our population is Negro; this group commits over 50 per cent of the murders in America, 56 per cent of the manslaughters, 53 per cent of the aggravated assaults, 35 per cent of the robberies, 25 per cent of the rapes, 46 per cent of the narcotics offenses, and 41 per cent of the concealed weapons offenses. This is the tragic and pathological fall-out, not of Negro inferiority or depravity, but of our unwillingness to accept Negroes as individuals. We are on their backs and they are on ours. If freedom and welfare are the interdependent goals of urban decision-making, then government cannot possibly escape the duty of moving into this problem with firmness and intelligence and moral clarity. It is the largest threat to man's freedom in this country—Negro and white alike.

It is said that laws cannot change men's hearts. Even if I accept this as true (which I do not), I would counter that laws can change men's overt behavior. A central job is to make men aware of the diminution in their own freedom which discrimination inevitably involves. This responsibility goes far beyond government. All of us have special functions to perform in this civilizing task. But governments do have the task of translating our moral heritage and our political principles into enforceable codes of fair practice, equal rights, and increasingly equal opportunities. To say that the federal civil rights acts of the past three years—and these are essentially urban decisions—have limited the freedom of some citizens to discriminate against other citizens, is equivalent to saying that enforceable laws against murder restrict the freedom of murderers. All secular laws, if they are moral, impose limits upon license in order to create the conditions of civilized behavior. In no field of human experience is there a greater need for positive governmental action reinforced by moral conscience than in the realm of civil rights.

Have we developed a capacity for promoting urban decisions—public and private—which will move toward an orderly and humane solution to racial injustice? Stewart Alsop, among others, has thrown up his hands in despair; he sees decades if not generations of big city ghettos sur-

rounded by white suburbs. If in Flandrin's painting Christ mourned over the city of Paris, he must be weeping convulsively over Watts and Harlem and Hough and forty other metropolitan ghettos which the attorney general of the United States says are ready to blow at any minute.

Sickness, ignorance, squalor, dependency, discrimination—these are the major frontiers of urban decision-making. One of the university's major roles is to say so—by restating our value inheritance, by encouraging volunteer student and staff activity in the life of a city, by inducing tears of outrage at the gap between value premise and social reality.

But tears are not enough. Education is fundamentally a game of truth and the consequences. It involves, in Whitehead's terms, "a search for order and a distrusting of order perceived." Universities can and must contribute directly and indirectly to urban decision-making by the discovery of root laws of human behavior and of the conditions under which such laws operate. The ultimate justification for university research is a fundamental faith that the truth will make us free. In the social and behavioral sciences we sense a great deal, but we know very little. Our propositions about social behavior tend to be gooey concoctions of proverbial wisdom, Freudian analogues, and inoperative mathematical models. To the extent we are saved, we are saved by the intuitive wisdom of leaders rather than by the validity of testable propositions. In such fields as education, welfare, and race relations, we are still groping for a definition of viable, analytical problems. We are not within sniffing distance of scientific answers. We in the universities are being asked with embarrassing frequency to recommend solutions to baffling community issues. In most cases we lack the humility to confess that we do not know —that we lack the tools at the moment even to find out how to begin the process of analysis which ultimately might lead to useful knowledge. Our research is too often pedestrian, discipline-bound, fragmentary, and nonadditive.

And yet, in the long run, our major contributions to urban decision-making must be in the very areas of research where presently we are so confused and so inadequate. One wonders what would have happened in the past decade if we had forgotten the moon and plowed all the money for NASA into social and behavioral science research related to the major problems of urban America. Perhaps we would be no farther along

than we are now. But I cannot really believe this. And in any case, some modifications in resource allocations might have saved us from the accusation, so eloquently phrased by Tom Hughes, that "the rich explore the heavens while the poor inherit the earth."

I know that government agencies and the large foundations get impatient with the preciousness and irrelevancy of much university research. But it is possible that they have become impatient too soon. We need more help not less for our game of truth and consequences. We need both to support and to protect our ablest social scientists from hard, cold empiricism and analysis. Only thus can the probabilities of science ultimately be fused with the sensitivities of leadership to produce a truly benevolent rationality in the solution of intractable problems of human organization and behavior.

But even if we started tomorrow with adequate support, the development of useful social science would be attenuated and incremental. In the meantime, are there more immediate even if less exalted intellectual roles for the universities to play in urban decision-making? I think there are. This is not to say that all universities in the country have the staff, resources, or inclination to play every role that can be identified. Universities have quite as much right as individuals to be inner-directed. Every institution of higher learning in America has its own discrete style, capacity, and history. That Harvard has not played the same role in metropolitan Boston that Wayne State has played in metropolitan Detroit may be cause for rejoicing rather than for invidious comparisons. But long-term science aside, universities can have an important effect upon urban decision-making in at least three ways: they can provide specialized, technical advice; they can help educate urban decision-makers; and, above all, they can induce the dreams which will inspire creative thought about solving problems.

Universities may provide specialized, technical advice in a number of ways. There are few universities which do not have scores of faculty who, vocationally or avocationally, are interested in the applied and engineering aspects of their fields. An engineering school can undertake feasibility studies concerning the technical success of an urban project; organic and analytical chemists can help in identifying the precise nature of air and water pollution; business schools can help tidy up public accountancy or give advice on the use of computers for handling payrolls;

library schools can help city fathers or school superintendents develop plans for new municipal or school libraries; schools of public administration can help explain the pitfalls as well as the utilities of program-budgeting; art, drama, and music schools can give advice on a variety of cultural fronts; schools of architecture can give technical advice in city planning and municipal building design; university bureaus of governmental research can collect and disseminate the results of operating experiments in a wide variety of municipal functions; law schools can become important sources of information about comparative state and municipal law and can help in ordinance-drafting and charter revisions; schools of public health can perform laboratory functions and can serve as consultants on crisis as well as long-range problems of epidemiology. The list is almost endless. And if one were able to make a thoroughgoing tabulation of present services of this kind being rendered to the municipalities of America by neighboring universities, the results would be as impressive as they are heartening. Even so there is much more that universities can and should do to help urban decision-makers—with feasibility studies and with technical advice of all kinds in a wide variety of professional and technical fields.

The second role of the university is pre-entry and mid-career education and training for urban decision-makers. Urban governments in America are faced with a serious manpower crisis—quantitatively and qualitatively. There is an insufficient number of university students preparing for urban careers; there are inadequate provisions for upgrading, through in-service educational opportunities, the capacities of those presently charged with urban decision-making in both the public and private sectors.

On the pre-entry question, I had reason this past summer to address a statement to Senator Edmund S. Muskie in connection with hearings on his pending bill for improving state and local government personnel. In part I said this:

> Unless state and local governments receive a continuing stream of highly educated and well-trained young people, no amount of post-entry training by either short-term or long-term courses will make any appreciable dent or sense. In the nation's self-interest, I would propose undergraduate and graduate "loan fellowships" on the NDEA pattern for teachers—financed by the federal government and awarded on a competitive basis—for students who indicate their willingness to spend at least five years after graduation in state or local government service. These "loan fellowships" should be available regard-

less of academic discipline or major or pre-professional concentration, since modern governments need every skill universities can provide. For every two years of actual public service, one year of the loan would be forgiven. The funding for this program should be liberal enough to cover at least 10,000 college and university students each year. This figure represents only 1% of existing state and local public service employment. Such a program would take an annual appropriation of between 40-50 million dollars. If such a "loan fellowship" scheme (or alternate schemes involving work-study or internship programs for students) is to succeed, of course, it must be accompanied by changed salary incentives and new career development programs at the state and local level, and by imaginative and positive recruiting efforts by state and local government in the colleges and the universities of the nation. But support for inducing a quantity of young people to enter state and local public service seems to me the sine qua non of solving the manpower questions you, as a senator, have so appropriately raised.

In the field of mid-career training, universities have an unprecedented opportunity and responsibility. University College at Syracuse, in cooperation with the Maxwell School and the various other professional schools of the university, has created a Center for Continuing Education in the Public Service. One of the center's major functions is to develop short-term and long-term courses of special value to urban decision-makers who need to recharge their intellectual batteries, to have their minds stretched and complicated, to be upgraded in the rapidly changing technologies of urban services and management, to prepare themselves for top executive and policy responsibilities so that they can thread their way successfully through the present maze of intergovernmental, interagency, and interprogram relationships.

Syracuse is not unique in this expanding field. And in any case, we and our sister universities have hardly scratched the surface of opportunity and need in the whole area of mid-career education and training for urban decision-makers. Perhaps as a result of the Ford Foundation supported studies of the National Institute of Public Affairs into possible designs for mid-career education for state and local decision-makers, new experiments will be stimulated and funded.

There is no point in bewailing the possibility that these extension services (or the technical or consulting services mentioned above) can subvert the major business of universities—"major business" being defined as undergraduate and graduate education and basic research. Of course these more traditional roles can be corrupted. But that is why universities have chancellors, provosts, and deans—to influence the al-

location of resources so that a balance is maintained among the competing services and functions that the modern university is called upon to perform. Furthermore, I have great faith in the conservative power of disciplinary and professional interests in academia to withstand the onslaughts of less prestigious claims upon the attention of university staffs. My fear, actually, is quite the other way—that the university will be too timid, too slow, too negative in responding to the more immediate needs of our urban society; that our disciplines and professions will be too ingrown, too precious, and too protective to make them truly relevant to the complex and dangerous world of the urban decision-maker. And we should be aware that if we have something to say to the urban decision-maker, he also has a great deal to say to us. Mid-career education, like municipal consultancies, if properly structured, can provide for the university exciting and valuable windows to reality. Science is not empiricism; but it is rooted in empiricism. And structured interaction patterns between universities and urban decision-makers can increase the flow of empirical data and insight between the practitioner and the professor.

I have left to the last the most important role of the university vis-à-vis urban decision-making. In one sense this final point is redundant, for it is simply another way of emphasizing what I said at the very beginning. I began with a claim that tears could motivate science. I end with a proposition that, far more important than motivating science, tears can induce dreams; dreams about a tearless world—"patriot dreams that see beyond the years thine alabaster cities gleam undimmed by human tears."

Surely no responsibility of the university is more fundamental. Science—including social science—is an instrument. It cannot define the goals of good or great societies. It cannot conjure Augustinian cities of God or even the Heavenly City of the eighteenth-century philosophers. There is no mathematical model for justice, no in-put—out-put analysis for beauty, no computer print-offs for the full and rich life. I suppose, as Robert Boguslaw has pointed out, that systems analysts will try to build utopias; but, as he also points out, they will in the process make all of the fundamental errors of the traditional utopians. The job of universities is not to construct utopian blueprints which cannot work, or which turn out to be hideously contra-productive to values initially posited. The job of the university is to dream dreams and to inspire crea-

tive thought about resolving specific problems—problems which patently interfere with the pursuit of happiness for millions of people. It is not utopian to dream of a world in which physical illness and pain are reduced, in which people are housed attractively in an environment which promotes rather than inhibits joy, in which opportunities for self-fulfillment are made more equal, in which artistic and intellectual satisfactions are increased, in which the energy and diversity and options of urban life are not short-circuited by injustice and disorder, in which the stars are not obliterated by smog and the song of the birds is not overpowered by the claxons of technology. These are attainable dreams. It is the business of universities to keep these dreams alive, and to give students a sense of their attainability.

Modern secular man has lost most of his faith in the power and reality of theology. But if "God is Dead," man is alive, and part of man is an insistent voice that says, "What I see and experience is not good enough." In an earlier age, we would have looked at the destructive storms of urban life and attributed them to the chastening power of an Almighty. In the words of the hymn writer:

> His chariots of wrath the deep thunderclouds form
> And darken his path on the wings of the storm.

Today, social storms have secular origins and secular meanings. Their effects must be mediated less by prayer than by the scientific seeding of dark clouds. If the universities can keep alive the goals of truth, beauty, and goodness, who can doubt that man's reason will ultimately find answers to the proximate storms which threaten him in his increasingly urban settings?

Then, perhaps, in some distant time and place our children's children can come into an unalienated relationship with their universe, and sing without fear, superstition, or irony, the next stanza of the hymn:

> Thy bountiful care what tongue can recite?
> It breathes in the air, it shines in the light,
> It streams from the hills, it descends to the plain,
> And sweetly distills in the dew and the rain;